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361 several miles, sometimes with intervening plantations. In the interior there are a number scattered over the hilly ground in the southern half of the island, in such places as were found suitable for clearing. A similar string of villages extends along the north coast of Bougainville, broken, on the eastern half, by the plantations of Baniu, Raua, and Timputs.

The site chosen is either on the shore, if there is any land flat enough between the cliffs and the beach, or on the cliff, close to its edge. The government road runs parallel to the coast at a short distance away from it, and the villages are all between the road and the sea. A few yards of bush are left uncut on the landward side, so that the village cannot, as a rule, be seen from the road. On the other side of the road there are usually no huts at all.

• 226 One, if not the main, reason for placing the village close to the
361 sea is in order to discover as early as possible the presence of a shoal of bonito in the neighbourhood. A look-out place is kept clear of bushes at the most commanding part of the cliff, and when the sea-birds that always accompany the bonito are seen, a special cry is raised, which sends every available man hurrying to launch a canoe and pursue them before they move too far away. If the nature of the ground permits, a favourite arrangement is to have one or more hamlets on the shore and others on the cliff immediately above it. The village of Ruri, for example, is made up of five hamlets, Biakwawin, Merimer, and Sikov, on the shore; Siara and Tagun on the cliff-top. At Tabut there are four, Muna-awel, Tensoa, Sumnē, and Bungus; all on the shore, the cliff above being unsuitable for building. At Kurtatchi there is not enough level ground between the foot of the cliff and the beach to admit of the building of huts, so the whole village is on the top. The originally separate hamlet of Gomen is now amalgamated with Kurtatchi.

361 The sites of villages are apt to be changed, for a number of
166 reasons. This does not disturb the feeling of solidarity, for the village or hamlet moves *en masse*, and is reconstructed on the new site much as it was before. The vicissitudes of the hamlet with which I was most closely associated will serve to illustrate this practice. It once stood on the sea-shore, at a place called Ur, a
[73] little to the west of its present site. An extra high tide, or possibly a tidal wave (the description given by the natives is not clear on this point), washed some of the huts away. It was then removed to

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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutʃ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobăr*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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slings of banana-fibre with a base of the heavy spathes of the areca-palm) and set off for the taro gardens, or they may tie round their waists the little baskets which they use to catch fish in the rock-pools or to store the shell-fish they collect from the reef at low tide. Almost every day a small party goes off on a bartering expedition, to meet the women from some other village with goods for exchange. The more energetic of the men will be flourishing bush-knives or fishing-rods; one may seize a spear and announce his intention of going to hunt wild pig, to the huge delight of all the dogs in the village, who signify their approval in the usual canine fashion, and there is no peace in the village till he has disappeared with them into the bush. A party may be told off to work on the government road in order to keep it in sufficiently good condition to avoid a scolding from the A.D.O. on his next visit. Eventually, most people go off somewhere, either to work or to laze, unless there is a house being built or a canoe being finished, in which case some of the men will set to work on it, in rather desultory fashion. The boys wearing the *upi* depart in a gang on some ploy of their own, the girls have either gone with their mothers or are left to look after the younger children, and usually one or two adults also remain in the village, having chosen not to work to-day. They do not like prolonged concentration on anything, and if I ask somebody, especially a young man, what he is going to do to-day, I shall very likely get the answer: 'Nothing, I worked yesterday.' There would seem really to be some justification for the universal complaint of the older men that the young men nowadays are lazy. The women do not bring back from the taro garden enough provender for more than a day or two at a time, so they cannot take as many 'days off' as their menfolk do. The very few really industrious families have probably built themselves a shelter of banana leaves beside their taro patch, and will not come near the village for days together. Those who remain in the village spend a good part of the day in sleep. Women with small babies, or minding those old enough to be left by their mothers, sit about on the back verandah or on prostrate logs, fondling the infants. For a time, in the early afternoon, the village is quiet.

In course of time the women come back with their baskets of shell-fish or their loads of taro or firewood, carried on their backs as we carry a rucksack. The little girls go off to the water-pools in the bush and return with the family's water-supply—for all purposes—in a dozen or so cleaned-out coconut shells.

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the bush. Here it is not always convenient to lie down, so a standing position is adopted, the man behind the woman who bends her body forward. I have two drawings, both done by young men, showing couples in this position, and on one occasion when I observed children playing at copulation it was done thus.

The bush is the favourite place for love-making. The taro garden is frequently chosen by husband and wife; clandestine lovers prefer the uncleared bush. This preference is the basis of some of the stock insults current among these people. A person of either sex who is angry with a woman will say to her: '*Wanits i ratsu.*' 'You copulate in the bush', or '*Giug i ratsu.*' 'You conceive in the bush.' (These are indicatives, not imperatives.)[1]

As far as I know, there are no periods of special licence, nor is there any occasion on which extra-marital intercourse is either enjoined or sanctioned with ritual significance, unless we include the punishment of a woman in this manner for breaking taboos connected with the boys' puberty rites (see Chap. VI).

Sexual abstinence is imposed upon certain individuals under special circumstances, but I do not know of any time when the prohibition is general. A woman must refrain from intercourse for some time after the birth of a child. The young men who act as sponsors (*anvo*) to the adolescent boys wearing the *upi* must remain continent during certain stages of the puberty rites. Abstinence during the previous night is essential if a man wishes to succeed in bonito fishing, but there are 'medicines' whereby the result of breaking this taboo may be circumvented.

PROSTITUTION

I learned of nothing that could be described as prostitution occurring among these people, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where a partner can be obtained without difficulty. Presents of tobacco, betel, &c., will sometimes pass between lovers, but these are signs of preference, not payment for services rendered. In most villages there are some women who are known to be liberal with their favours, usually these are young wives whose husbands are away working as indentured labourers.

[1] Other stock insults are concerned with incestuous relationships and with faeces, just as in other parts of Melanesia. Typical examples are '*No on sas i tin a tfinemui!*' 'Go eat your mother's faeces!' '*Tatap tfinemui!*' 'Copulate with your mother!'

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it *aisam*, and do not, so far as I know, use it as a contraceptive, but regard it as of virtue in fishing magic (see p. 350). It has a very tough stem, the outer skin of which is used throughout the whole area as a fastening, particularly in the making of canoes. For use as a contraceptive, the procedure is as follows:

The woman takes a piece of the root of *asam* and chews it with the betel-mixture. Some of the mixture must be swallowed. Some of it she spits out into the palm of her hand, and with it massages her abdomen thoroughly. The piece of root which remains over must be hung up in the rafters of the hut, where the smoke from the fire will reach it, and left there. As the smoke hardens the root, the woman's belly 'becomes fast', so that she cannot conceive. If it is desired that the sterility be permanent, after the *asam* root has been thoroughly smoked, it is taken down from the rafters and buried. She will then never be able to have any more children. But if it is desired to have a child later, the root is left up in the rafters until such a time as the woman wishes to conceive; it is then taken down and thrown away into swiftly running water, or into the sea. As the current carries it away, 'her belly opens again' so that she can conceive.

One of the three informants—incidentally, all three were men—from whom I obtained this 'prescription' was not aware of any means by which the effect could be counteracted, otherwise the three accounts were similar. Another added that it was sometimes given to a woman by her husband prior to his departure for a long period, and that on his return he would throw away the *asam* that he had left in the rafters, thus removing the bar to conception. A man who gives this medicine to a woman must not go fishing for *malŏ* (a small fish, something like a mullet, caught on the open reef) for one or two days afterwards, or the medicine will not work.

Three other plants credited by the people of North Bougainville with contraceptive properties are used in similar fashion:

Paparan (*Vitex Lagundi*).

Scrape the roots and chew the scrapings with the betel-mixture. The solid part of the mixture must be swallowed, the saliva is spat out on to the hand and rubbed over the abdomen. The rest of the root is then put up in the rafters to harden in the smoke. As the smoke hardens the root, 'the woman's belly dries up', so that she cannot conceive.

Rŭmis (a tree, unidentified).

The leaves of this tree must be rubbed well between the hands, water is poured over them and mixed with the sap thus squeezed out. The

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here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

'*Komu tsura, nom en a tamil, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
naban en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *watʃitʃio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *kerios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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term is *kūra*, which is apparently onomatopoeic, somewhat resembling the noise the creatures make in the bush. Each variety has its own name. One, called *lululayitf*, is said to come down with the rain. Some kinds have special conventions attached to their consumption (see p. 158).

Birds, especially pigeons, are much appreciated as a relish with taro. They are usually roasted whole on the embers and pulled apart with the fingers. Domestic fowls are rarely eaten, and seem to be kept only for the sake of the cock's tail feathers, which are valued as hair ornaments on ceremonial occasions. The eggs of the domestic fowl are left alone, but those of the little black bush fowl or megapode (*iowa*) are eaten with gusto when nearly ready for hatching. They are done up in little packages of leaves and cooked in hot embers, usually only on festal occasions. I failed to live up to my motto, 'Try anything once', when offered a packet of this delicacy.

When any one walking through the bush comes upon the partly decayed trunk of a fallen tree, he will root about in the soft wood in search of a particular kind of grub, yellowish-white in colour, with a body 2 or 3 inches long and perhaps half an inch thick. These are collected, taken home, and cooked, to serve as an additional 'relish' to the evening taro. They are said to be good eating because they have 'plenty of grease' (*momōna*).

3. *Sea food*

Pig being a luxury usually reserved for feasts, and other flesh food being somewhat scarce and hard to come by, the usual relish to a meal of taro consists of fish. The most highly prized of all fish is the bonito (*atūn*), but a great variety of fish can be obtained and nearly all are eaten. The various methods of catching them are described in Chapter IX.

Fish is generally cooked by being wrapped in leaves and roasted in the embers. I have never seen it being boiled. It may also be slightly smoked, so that it will keep for a short time (but never completely smoke-dried so as to be fit for storage.) In this half-smoked condition it plays the principal part as a medium of barter in the regular exchange of fish and taro which takes place between the women of different villages.

Many varieties of shell-fish are collected on the reef by the women and girls. These are boiled in native pots, and the fish is

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223 on the little twig which is placed against them, vertically, on the side away from the uprights. On the lower of these precariously held sticks there rest the ends of three horizontal sticks, the other ends of which rest on a log about a foot away, on that side of the uprights away from the saplings. A noose of fibre is laid on these three sticks, attached by a string to the small twig (the one attached by a string to the sapling) which keeps the two horizontals in position. Food is placed on or around these three sticks. If a bird

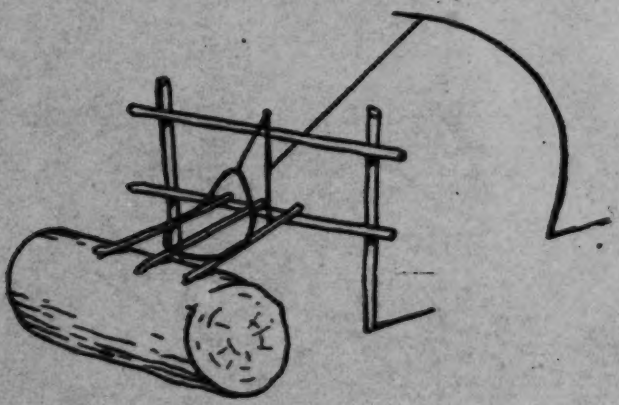

FIG. 11. Bird snare (*natui*).

alights on them, its weight dislodges the lower of the two horizontal sticks, thus releasing the twig tied to the sapling, which flies back, pulling the noose with it, and the bird is caught in the tightened string of the noose.

Flying foxes, &c.

224 Flying foxes (*tsubak*) and other varieties of bats (*puputu*) are taken from the holes in the trees in which they hide during the day. Boys climb a tree with likely-looking holes in it, and feel inside for the creatures, which they pull out. Or they will search in the hollow of a large tree.

FISHING

225 Flesh food being none too plentiful, and at all times not very easy to get, by far the larger part of the necessary supplement to a diet of taro consists of fish. Both sexes are occupied for much of

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their time in securing it, but the methods employed by men and women are, for the most part, distinct and separate, the latter confining themselves to the reefs and rock pools and the shallow water close inshore. The Buka men will venture some distance out into the open sea in the hope of getting a good catch, but the Kurtatchi people do not care to go too far away from the shore, even after the much-prized bonito.

As is to be expected in a matter of so much importance, there is a great deal of magic associated with fishing. The various kinds of 'medicine' are considered appropriate to special methods, and will be discussed in reference to these. I do not know of any which is applicable to fishing in general. There are also magical ways of calming the sea before starting out. Of these the following is typical:

Chew the root of *pai'uhes* (*Pennisetum macrostachyum*) with the betel-mixture, and spit it on to the mid-rib of a coco-nut-palm leaf. Plant this leaf on the shore just where a big wave will reach it. The wave will then go back and calm the sea.

The principal methods of fishing practised in this area will now be discussed in some detail.

Bonito fishing

Of all their fishing activities, by far the most important, in the estimation of these people, is bonito fishing. The bonito (*Sarda* sp.) is called *atūu*, a word current throughout all the dialects in this area, and clearly the same as the Polynesian word *'atu* used in Samoa (Hiroa, 1930, p. 124). Near every village along the coast there is a small clearing at a high point, from which a view over the open sea can be obtained. Here a look-out is kept, somewhat spasmodically, for the splashing of water and the circles of sea-birds which mark the presence of a shoal of bonito in pursuit of the small fish (*mobot*, *iō*, *talē*, *osa*, *mambul*) on which they feed. As soon as any one sees these signs he raises a characteristic yell, which is heard at no other time. The sound instantly sends all the available men and boys in the village scurrying to the place where the canoes are kept. They launch with all speed, and paddle hard to catch up with the shoal before it gets too far away. More often than not they seem to come home empty-handed, but if any fish

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226 are caught, even if only a single one, there is great rejoicing. If the catch is a large one, the fish are shared by all the people of the village; a small catch is distributed among the men who went out; if only one fish is taken it belongs to the owner of the canoe.

The most important place in this region, in connexion with bonito fishing, is the island of Pororan. Men from other parts of Buka and from the north coast of Bougainville go to Pororan to learn the special magic required for it, and it is from there that the stone fish which play an important part in that magic are obtained. The men who were specialists in these matters at Kurtatchi said that they had learnt what they knew from the people of Pororan, who knew much more than they did.

226 462 Bonito fishing is the work of men exclusively; the women have no part in the catching, but they are permitted to carry home, clean, and cook the fish. The older boys take part in it while still wearing the *upi*, but I did not hear of any ceremony corresponding to the 'making *malaohu*' described by Ivens (1927, pp. 131 ff.) in connexion with a boy's first fishing expedition.

Bonito hook and rod.

227 Bonito are caught with a long flexible rod of bamboo, and a special hook, which is used for no other purpose.

227 321 [825] This hook (*ayats* in the Petats dialect, *kanun* in the Kurtatchi dialect) consists of a shell shank with a point made of turtle-shell. For the shank, *Tridacna* (clam) is generally employed, but *Melea-grina* (the black-lip oyster), *Conus* (the green-snail), *Turbo*, and *Cassis* are also used. If made of clam shell, the shank is flattened on the under side, in other cases it may be slightly convex, following the curve of the shell, so that in cross-section it may be either ⌓ or ⌒. The proximal end has a small tang, behind which the line is fastened. The line is never, so far as I know, carried along the upper side of the shank and attached near the point, as is described by Hiroa for Samoa (1930, p. 501). The distal end of the shank is cut so as to leave a projecting piece, or sometimes two, on each side; between and on both sides of this is twisted the lashing which secures the point. The lashing consists of native fibre-string, of different thicknesses according to the size of the hook, twisted round both point and shank several times, the arrangement differing considerably in individual specimens, but always very neatly finished. Tiny bits of wood are wedged on either side of

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● 226 *Method of catching bonito.*

Bonito fishing is usually carried on from a plank canoe (*mon*), the smaller ones, with three seats, being used for this purpose (Fig. 12). But I have seen men go out to follow a shoal in out-

[532]

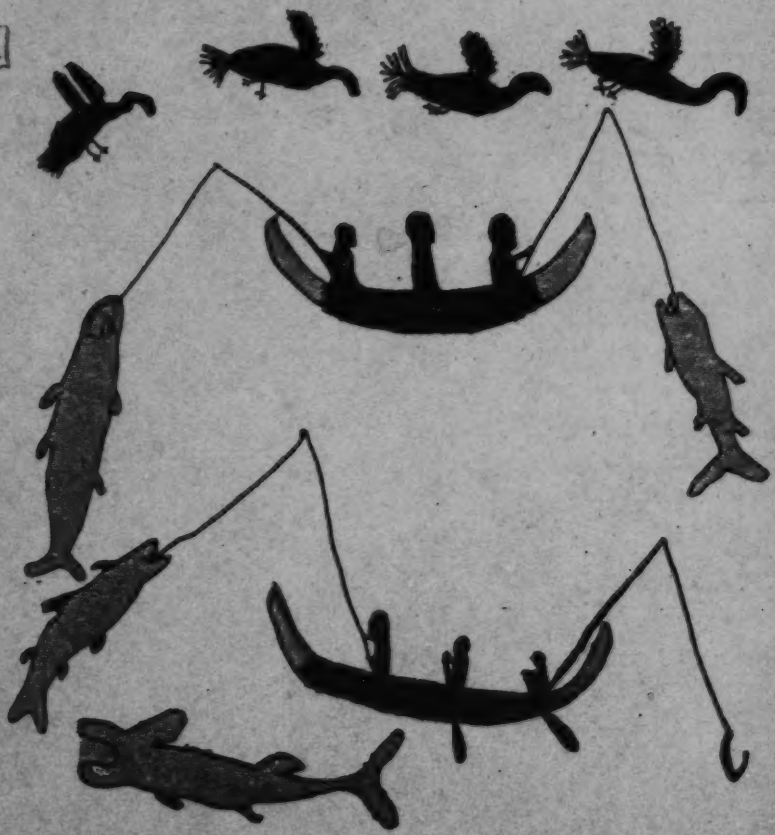

FIG. 12. Fishing for bonito. At the top are the birds who always follow a shoal of bonito, at the bottom is a shark. (Drawn by a young man.)

rigger canoes, if there were no seats for them in the *mon* that were going. Two rods are taken in each canoe, one to be used from the stern and the other from the bow. The stern line is kept trailing behind the canoe, the bow line is cast. If there are more than two men in the canoe, the man in the bow does not paddle, but devotes all his attention to playing for the fish. The man at the stern must

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attend to the steering as well as to his rod and line. His rod is not held in the hand, except when landing a fish. The proximal end of it rests against a small piece of wood with a groove in it, fixed in the centre of the canoe, it then passes between the man's legs and under his thigh, which holds it in place, leaving his hands free to wield the paddle. When a fish takes the hook, the paddle is thrown into the bottom of the canoe, the rod is caught up, and the fish jerked over the side. Only one hook is attached to each rod. No bait is used, the resemblance of the hook to the small fish on which the bonito feed being sufficient attraction. The first bonito caught after a period of bad luck is decorated with paint and put back into the sea. This is supposed to attract the other fish to the hook. 226

Magical procedure connected with bonito fishing.

In view of the importance attaching to bonito fishing in the native mind, it is natural that there should be a large number of 'medicines', and an elaborate ritual directed towards ensuring a good catch. Bonito magic is not common knowledge, usually only one or two men in each village know it. As a rule, one man belonging to each clan represented in the village is in possession of this information, which he should pass on to a relative of the same clan before he dies. The usual heir to the secret is his sister's son. I obtained two accounts of magical procedure for bringing the bonito into the neighbourhood. Both were given to me by a man named Minka, living at Kurtatchi, but belonging originally to the village of Hanahan on the east coast of Buka. While Minka was giving me this information, Sobak, who knows all about it, kept watch to make sure that no one could overhear. As they differ considerably in detail, I give them both in full. Both require strict abstinence from sexual intercourse on the part of the operator. [834]

To bring bonito to your fishing grounds.

When you do this you must get up early in the morning and go into the bush without eating. Look for a piece of white *hakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*, a white variegation, occurs in deep shade, and is much prized for decorative purposes). You must not see or be seen by anybody while you are getting it; if that happens you must throw it away and look for some more. Then catch a *kurakum* [824]

(a black insect that is found on certain plants in the bush, I think a species of ant). You must also get some leaves of the *papara* tree. (This tree grows only in the heart of the bush, involving a journey of considerable length to obtain it.) These leaves you must get at night, and you must not eat any food for some time before going out to get them.

Then take a branch of the *wakalō* tree and plant it upright on the shore. Take some leaves of *wanep* (a plant with red leaves) and some *magor* (see p. 475) and areca-nut. Chew all these together, put all the other leaves, and the *kurakam*, into a bundle, spit the mixture into it, and tie it up, leaving the ends of the leaves hanging out.

Give this bundle to another man to hold. Then say:

'Rīs ma atūn, no ma atūn se no bibūr ma.
'Catch (*imper.*) bonito, come bonito let come plenty.

Rīs ma atūn, se no ma en vānu pio.'
Catch bonito, let come to village my.'

Then put the bundle of leaves into a hole in the reef, at a certain place. For Kurtatchi the appointed place is on the shore just below the village which is on the top of the cliff. It is called Kaur. Women are not allowed to go near this place. A man takes the bundle and pushes it down into the hole; this will make the bonito come to the surface of the water. A number of men watch while this is being done; meanwhile some of them imitate the movements and cries of the birds that follow the bonito. The names of these birds are *kira*, *pupuhig*, *butuana*, and *aulas*. (*Aulas* is the frigate-bird; I think the others are gulls.)

The men then wash in the water near the place where the bundle has been sunk. This is done at night. Some men call out:

'Di a mon, atūn to en non.'
'Bring out canoe, bonito are feeding.'

Then the men dive into the hole, and get stones and fasten down the bundle, so that the sea will not carry it away. Then you must fix a time when the bonito are to come, say five days. During that time you must not go to work, but must stay in your own village; you must not go to another village even for a visit, and you must not eat in any hut except your own.

When the time fixed comes, the bonito will be there, and the men get out their canoe. You must not go in the canoe, you must

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watch from the village. While all the men are paddling hard, take out the stopper of your lime-pot and leave it open all the time the canoe is out. When it comes ashore, put back the stopper, then the bonito will stop feeding. If a canoe from another village comes up to fish, don't take the stopper out, then they will not be able to catch any.

The bonito will be there for several days, and all the canoes will go out. The bundle that was sunk in the hole will now be rotten, and will stink. All the canoes must go ashore at the place where the bundle was sunk, and must clean the fish over the hole. The blood of the bonito will go into the bundle, and this will cause the fish to come in great numbers.

Suppose the men from another place boast about catching bonito, and say: 'We know how to catch plenty of bonito', you say: 'What do you mean? You know how to catch plenty of bonito? You can't talk like that.' If you want to prevent the people of a certain place from catching bonito, get the stalk of *bō* and chew it with areca-nut and lime, and then bury it in the place where they keep their bonito canoe. Then, even if your own canoe is catching plenty, they won't be able to catch any, and they will say: 'Why is our canoe not catching any bonito? What are we to eat?'

If you want to make the bonito go away, you have intercourse with a woman secretly; there will be no more bonito. When you want them to come back again, you must refrain from sexual intercourse; this is very important. If you go with a woman, the bonito will go away. The other men will think they have gone of their own accord, they do not know about this rule.

When you want the bonito to come back again, you must get a new set of leaves, *papara*, *makalō*, *kakariuk*, to help the bundle you left on the reef before. Put this new bundle on the top of the old one, fasten it down strongly with stones, and set a new time, five nights, or ten, if you like. Wait for the bonito for this time, staying in your own village. When the canoe goes out, take out the stopper of your lime-pot. The canoe must come ashore again at the place where the bundle is buried, and the fish must be cleaned there, so that their blood runs down on to the bundle; then there will be plenty of fish. When the canoe comes ashore, put back the stopper of your lime-pot, and the bonito will stop feeding.

Minka told me that this procedure was very secret. Hardly

anybody knows it. He learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water, inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri, who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

[i.e., Minka. – Analyst]

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derivatives. They are not so highly valued, and less care is taken to keep them from the sight of women. They are used in the same way as the stone fish. One which I procured at Tabut (Pl. 42) had been set up in the shed in which the canoes were kept, with a hook attached to the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf placed in its mouth. This was to make the bonito angry so that they would take the hook.

There is no mention of model fish in connexion with bonito fishing in the account given by Ivens for the SE. Solomons nor in that for Samoa by Te Rangi Hiroa. Their use in albacore fishing in the Society Islands is described by Nordloff (1930, p. 159), who says there were formerly models for almost every kind of fish. As in Bougainville, the head of the model must be kept turned towards the land to bring the fish close inshore.

In view of the fact, previously mentioned, that the fountain-head of the bonito magic was held to be the island of Pororan, I asked Mr. Gordon Thomas to investigate the matter there. He succeeded, with considerable trouble, in obtaining the following account, which he kindly gave me permission to incorporate here:

Atūn Magic. An account of the procedure adopted by the Pororan natives in order to bring the *atūn* fish into their fishing grounds. By E. L. Gordon Thomas.

The *atūn* (commonly called amongst the white population the 'king-fish') travels in shoals and frequents deep water. Its presence is invariably known by the large flocks of sea-birds hovering over the shoals in search of food. It is a fish that is highly prized amongst the Buka natives for eating purposes. It has no other value.

The magic employed is worked by one or two men who have been initiated into the mysteries by older relations, usually a cousin or a brother. There is a magic stone and a magic mixture of herbs and paint, which is used by the workers.

Timas, of Novar (Buka Passage), is the first one of whom I can find any record of having used this magic. The Pororan natives assert that he was the first man to use it. His time would be about sixty to seventy years ago, so far as I can ascertain. From him Pineri, of Pororan, became possessed of the secret, and he, in turn, passed it on to Nahu, who gave the secret to Sowi. It was from Sowi that I obtained the information here given. Sowi is a man of advanced years, somewhere in the vicinity of fifty years of age. He

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226 791 holds no official status amongst the natives, but is honoured for his ability to bring the *atūs* into the Pororan fishing-grounds.

226 532 The magic stone, called by the Pororan natives *tokamu*, which means 'not a long time', consists of a small replica of a fish, carved from a soft stone (somewhat similar to a sandstone) obtained from the mainland of Buka in one of the small rivers. It is usually about 6 inches long, 2 inches deep, and 1¼ inches thick. Some of the stones are plain with no carving, others have a fish's mouth, eyes, fins, and tail carved roughly.

226 824 The magic mixture, *hirako* (which is the same name as that given to magic potions, whether love potions or mixtures used when on raiding expeditions to send their foes to sleep), is a red powder, and contains crushed grass seeds (*sa'i*), the scraped inside bark of a tree (*hakala*), another inside bark of the *maluba* tree, a small quantity of the love potion (which is obtained from Hahon; the ingredients are not known to the Pororan natives), and the juice of the wild sugar, which is used to dampen the herbs. The seeds and scraped tree barks, together with the sugar juice, are placed in a pot over a slow fire and heated until the juice of the sugar is thoroughly absorbed by the herbs. After heating, a small portion of red oxide of iron (which is obtained from the Timputs or Baniu districts) is added to the mixture and then the whole is placed in the sun to dry. When dried it is placed in small leaf packages and securely tied with native string. These packages of mixture are prepared with great secrecy in the depths of the bush, careful watch being kept that no other men than those initiated are able to witness the operation. Usually sufficient mixture for about ten packages is prepared.

226 Before the actual working of the *hirako* the medicine man and his assistant repair to the bush and there gather the necessary leaves and bark for the preparation of the magic. These leaves and barks are made into a bundle, and, while the medicine man seats himself upon the ground and calls upon the spirits of departed medicine men to assist him in his work, the assistant slowly moves down on to the beach carrying the bundle upon his head. Arriving at the beach, he places it beneath stones, the leaves pointing towards the sea, the roots towards the bush. He then walks slowly around the bundle, and then walks into the sea and splashes his hands about in the water, making a noise similar to that made by the *atūs* when they muster at sea.

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During this performance the medicine man is chanting incantations to the spirits, the names of whom are: Timas, Nahu, Pineri, Sam, and Tolalu. He cries in a sing-song voice: 'Oh, Spirits! Come and help me bring the *atūn* to our fishing-grounds. Bring them from Petats and from Nissan, from Sēlō and New Ireland. Let them come here, and when they come may their eyes be opened so that they may see the hooks on the end of the lines, and may their mouths hold fast the lines.'

Then the medicine man and his assistant begin the work of scraping the inner bark of the trees and preparing the herbs for the pot. The scraping is done on a fallen tree-trunk. When the mixture has been prepared, then the other men of the village are called and assemble about the place where the preparations have been carried out. The mixture is already carefully tied up in the little leaf packages and counted by the medicine man. Each man requests that he should be given his package. But the medicine man refuses, saying that in due time when the *atūn* are near, then will they each receive their packages. The men then scrape together with their fingers any remnants of the herbs that may be left on the fallen tree-trunk and lick their fingers clean with their tongues, and smear the red mixture on their faces and their foreheads.

Young drinking coco-nuts and cooked taro are then brought from the village and a small feast is held. The medicine man, however, is not allowed to partake of any food. From the commencement of operations he is forced to fast, chewing only betel-nut and pepper-stick and drinking young coco-nuts. During this time, also, he must not visit the village nor have any intercourse with his wife. He is allowed to smoke, but is not allowed to sleep.

After the feast the medicine man takes a small piece of the tree-trunk upon which the herbs have been mixed and eats it, then, spitting into his hands, he walks into the sea, dips his hands into the water, and, rising to his full height, sings out: 'The *atūn* from Petats and from Lontis and from Nissan shall come here to-morrow. When I arise in the morning the sea shall be white with their splashings.' As he calls out the names of the several places from which the *atūn* shall come, he faces in their direction. Returning to the beach he seats himself amongst the other men, and tells them they must also call out for the *atūn* to come. The men follow his instructions and call out in a similar manner.

While the men are calling, one man, usually the assistant, climbs

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●226 secretly into a calophyllum tree close at hand on the beach, breaks a limb of the tree, and calls out: '*I niga no ta ien naut mahū.*' ('It is well. The fish come to-morrow.') This is supposed to be a sign from the spirits to the men gathered there on the beach.

The men seat themselves again and chew betel-nut. While they are thus chewing, the assistant, or some other man specially appointed, comes up behind several of the seated men and steals their pepper-sticks. This is in imitation of the *atūn* stealing the fish-hooks of the fishermen.

The betel-nut chewing continues until late at night. Then about ten o'clock the medicine man tells the men that it is time for them to go. He tells them, also, to let every one know that it is taboo for [857] any one to walk along the beach with lighted flares, and small boys may not play on the beach spearing fish along the water's edge.

When the men have departed, the medicine man takes the *tokamu* (carved fish) and places it on his head. The fish's head must point to the bush. He holds it with both hands, and calls out to all the spirits to help him bring the *atūn* to the fishing-ground. He then buries the stone in the sand above high-water mark, allowing the head of the fish to protrude, pointing towards the bush. This is in order that the *atūn* may see the head of the fish and may copy its position by having their heads on top so that the fish-hooks may be seen and their mouths hooked. The medicine man then calls out the day when the *atūn* shall come. Sometimes it is five days from the time when the charm is buried in the sand; sometimes it is ten days, according to his intuition.

The place on the beach where the charm is buried is taboo, no one is allowed to approach.

On the day when the *atūn* is expected all the *mon* from the island are manned and are launched into the deep water. Here they form a line and await the advent of the fish. In each *mon* there are two fish-lines attached to bamboo poles. In smaller *mon*, where there are only two rowers, the bamboo pole and the fish-line is held by the steersman usually between his legs, to leave his hands free [227] for steering. The bamboo pole is about twelve feet long. The fish-hooks are made from clam-shell with a tortoise-shell barb. (Clam-[834] shell, *ayats*; tortoise-shell barb, *nahits*.) Neither the steersman nor the men holding the bamboo are allowed to have sexual connexion with their wives during the night previous to the expedition.

The first *atūn* to be caught is held securely by one of the steersmen

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and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely. 226

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth. [164] (Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast amongst his relations. [574]

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a knowledge of working the *atūn* charm. At present on Pororan there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on. 226 791

All the *tokamu* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

Other forms of bonito magic.

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'prescriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi: 226

Bai'ia (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'ia*. There are two kinds of *bai'ia*; only one of these will do, it is called *bai'ia hihisi holot*. Bring it to the house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house, so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper, not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*. 226 824

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'ia* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atūn Pī*'.

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226 824 Now skin an areca-nut, a small one, that is not really ready for chewing. Chew it, with the leaf of *pipinkara* and lime. Then chew some more areca-nut with betel-pepper and lime in the usual way, but chew the *bai'in* with it, spit it out on to the palm of your hand, take your fish-line and rub the contents of your palm up and down it. Fasten a bonito hook on to the line. Pass your hand with the chewed mixture in it down the length of the line till it comes to the hook, but do not smear the hook. Then put back the rod and line in the house.

226 Next time there is a cry of '*Atūn*', take your rod and go to the beach, there spit backwards over your shoulder into the water, and say:

'Atūn Pi
Bonito (name of spirit of dead man especially concerned with bonito)
ruk me wilala, areban bay me wilala
go down rod, all the men (more usual form *barevan*) look rod
tagoan ruk hitaun no.'
my go down quickly (verbal particle).

(The word *wilala* is used only in formulae such as this, the usual word being *hiat*. Petats dialect.)

(i.e. 'Oh Pi, go down on to my rod. All the men will be looking, but you go down on to my rod quickly.')

Then take your rod and drop it on the ground, then go out to fish, and presently the bonito will go down on to your hook, just as the rod went down on to the ground.

[824] *Rakot* (a grass with a multitude of small seeds, not unlike 'quaking grass').

Chew the root with betel-mixture and spit it into the inside of your canoe just before launching. Call on the *urar* Pulaget, Soat, and Tsinong. The two former were men who were very successful at bonito fishing, the latter a woman who could carry heavy loads of bonito on her back. In calling on them the following formula is used:

'Tar ma po hanon piar nen rēs ma atūn. Tar nom po ma mon
Look at hook our pull bonito. Look at canoe
pa nahan, nen rēs ma atūn piar.'
of all of us, pull bonito our.

(i.e. 'Look at our hook and catch bonito for us. Look at our canoe and catch bonito for us.')

[824] When you have done this, chew the leaves of *rakot* with betel-mixture, spit it on the rod and line and on your hands, and rub down the line until you come to the hook.

Buviar (*Flueurya interrupta*).

[824] Rub the leaves between your hands; it will sting, but you will not mind that because you want to catch fish, and the sting does not last long. Mix some lime with the leaves, and rub the mixture on the line.

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Konkon (a creeper).

Chew the root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm, and rub all over your skin before you start out; this will cause the fish to bite. 226 824

Wagoguir (a large tree which grows on the shore).

Pound some of the bark and wash it in sea-water. Drink a little of this mixture, and pour the rest over your head. Chew some of the leaves and spit them out into the sea where the tide will carry them away. Then go and fish for bonito and you will have a good catch.

Maniyiy (a sweet-scented grass of the *Cymbopogon* species used in India for making citronella oil).

If you have been very unsuccessful, chew the root with betel-mixture and rub your legs where the rod lies across them, then take another piece of the root and put it in your hair when you go fishing.

It is important that a man who goes fishing for bonito should not have sexual intercourse, either with his wife or with any one else, the night before. If he has done so, it is said that the fish smell the woman and will not bite. The disability may be overcome by chewing the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) with betel-mixture and rubbing the chewed mass on the outside of the thighs where the rod lies across them. This 'removes the smell of the woman' and the fish will then bite. A man whose wife is pregnant must on no account go out in a bonito canoe, neither must a man who is newly married and has recently slept with his wife for the first time. There is no 'medicine' to counteract this taboo. 226 834 824 843

Other fishing methods

For fish other than bonito a variety of methods is employed, of which the following are the most important: 226 462

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*
   1. Net on frame.
   2. Troll line.
   3. Rod and line.
   4. Fishing kite.

B. *Reef fishing.*
   5. Bow and arrow.
   6. Spear.
   7. Line and hook.
   8. Hand-plunging trap.

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9. Thorn-lined trap.
10. Stunning and poisoning.
11. Drives.

METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. Barricade of leaves.
13. Women's hand-net.
14. Basket.
15. Groping with hand under stones.
16. Collecting shell-fish.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

C. *Freshwater fishing.*

17. Hand-net.
18. Dam made of leaves.

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

The outrigger canoe is used in these methods, and as a rule the fishermen do not go very far out, preferring the smoother water off the lee shore, though they do, in favourable weather, also venture into the open sea. Women do not take part in these excursions, but there are none of the sexual taboos which are observed in connexion with bonito fishing.

1. *Net on frame.*

The net (*ū bean*, P.; *ēb*, K.[1]) is made of native fibre-string. This string is made of the tough fibrous layer underlying the skin of the stem of a running creeper called *karēb*, by rolling on the bare thigh. It must be made in short sections, as the creeper-stem is furnished with a series of nodes at intervals of six or seven inches, at which the fibre breaks off when stripped. The short lengths are joined by twisting the ends between the fingers. For the finer string, two strands of this fibre are sufficient. The action of rolling on the thigh is called *kanun*. This suffices for the finest nets for catching small fish. For lines intended for bonito and for nets for bigger fish several strands are twisted together on the thigh, and three sets of these are rolled (not plaited) over and over each other

[1] P. = Petats dialect, K. = Kurtatchi dialect. The native terms given are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise specified.

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with one hand while held between the first and second finger of the other. The word for making string by twisting thus is *sĕ*. The string is made in all the villages of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville. The village of Hanahan has a reputation for making the finest nets.

Both string-making and netting are occupations for men only. In making a net, one end is tied to a pole or some convenient object, often the ridge-pole of a hut, and the netting is done from side to side across the width of the net, with the help of a netting needle consisting of a piece of cane about a foot long, split at both ends. The string is wound round this and the whole needle is pushed through the mesh. A short flat piece of cane is used as a gauge. The knot is similar to that used in our own fishing-nets.

The frame (*ĕviat*) is of bamboo, a stout cane for the proximal end, with a smaller cane lashed to it at its distal end; this may be followed by a still smaller one, till the required length is obtained. When the net is fixed, the distal end of the frame is pulled over into a curve. The distal end is fixed first, the string at the outer edge of the net being caught in a slit at the end of the frame. The other corners of the net are tied on to the frame (Fig. 13*a*). In the larger nets a separate piece of bamboo fixed at an angle to the main part of the frame supports the proximal end (Fig. 13*b*). Some men also make small nets in the same way, and add a handle (Fig. 13*c*). To fix a net on to the frame is *nui u ĕb*. It is done just before starting out on a trip; the nets are then placed in the canoe frame downwards, with the proximal ends protruding from one end of the canoe. On returning, the net is at once removed from the frame and stretched on branches or on the beach to dry; the frame, released from its curve, is put up in the lower branches of a tree.

These nets are used in pairs. They vary greatly in size; a large pair will be as much as a man can lift. I have seen quite young boys using small pairs. The longest net, used for deep-sea fishing, is called *kabir*; many kinds of fish are caught by it. The names of some of them, in the Kurtatchi dialect, are *auwots*, *susui*, *metapusi*, *tamagut*, *nomuo*, *mutul*, the last being described as a very large fish (about 4 feet long, as indicated by a gesture) with a square mouth. Another long net is called *hakawi*, and is used especially for catching *kori* (mullet) on the reef.

Fishing with the *ĕb* is carried on either by a number of canoes working in conjunction, or by single canoes, in which one man

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226 paddles while another manipulates the nets. One of the pair, held by its middle, is also used without a canoe, the men walking along the edge of the reef at low tide and sweeping the water just beyond the reef.

Another method, which I have not seen, and for which the sea at Kurtatchi is unsuitable, is thus described by Mr. Gordon Thomas as he saw it off the island of Pororan: Each man holds

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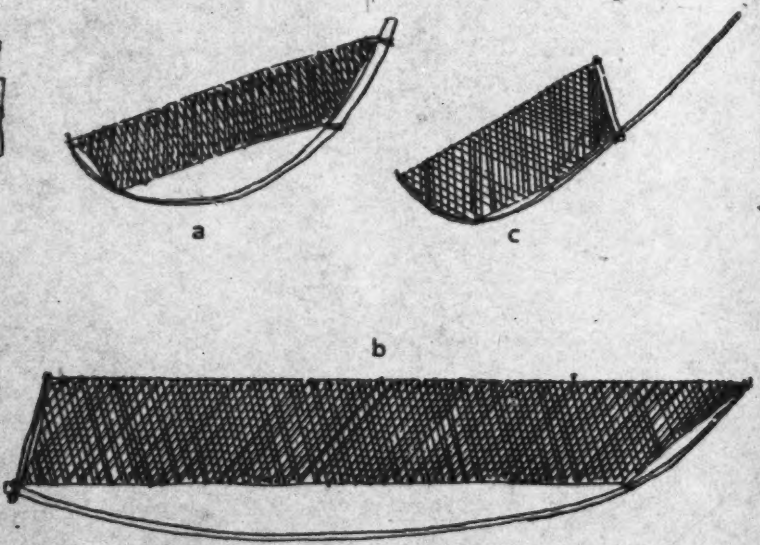

FIG. 13. Methods of fastening net to frame.

a net in either hand and forms one of a large extended semicircle. These nets are from 10 to 12 feet in length, and in the daily fishing excursion which is taken at low water among the coral reefs, there are from twenty to thirty men. On a shoal of edible fish being sighted, each man leaves his canoe, and stepping into the water, which rises sometimes to his neck, takes his place in the extended semicircle, the point of his net touching that of his neighbour; thus a complete semicircle is formed; two or three canoes then approach the opening of the half-circle, driving before them the fish, which become enmeshed in the nets.

Flying fish (*magalut*) are said to be caught with the *ĕb*. I neither saw nor heard of any floats for catching flying fish such as are described by Ivens in the SE. Solomons (1927, p. 384).

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Dugong (*lium*, P.) sometimes come close in shore at night, at high water. They are said to be caught with a kind of square drag net, fixed on to a pole at each end. I have not seen this procedure, or a sample of this kind of net.

There are numerous 'medicines' for ensuring a good result in fishing with the *ēb*. The following are the most interesting of those in my collection:

Go to the bush and get some of the plants called *sō* and *gunasgu*. Scrape off some of their bark, and mix it with *oin*. (Iron oxide, see p. 416.) Wrap the mixture in a leaf of the fan-palm *win*. Put the bundle in the bottom of the canoe. Then get some of the bark of the trees *winoa* (canarium almond) and *karu* (Barringtonia). Scrape it. Take some *sisiwa* (see p. 475) and powder it into your hand, then sprinkle the scraped bark of the *winoa* and *karu* with it. You must do this while you are quite alone, no one must see you do it.

When you want to go and catch fish, put a dab of this mixture of scraped bark and *sisiwa* on your ears and nose. Take the bundle of *sō* and *gunasgu* and open it out. Lay it on the outrigger of your canoe, but if a wind springs up you must take it in quickly so that it shall not be blown away.

Then take your net and pick up a stone—any stone from the beach will do—and throw it into the net; throw it hard. This is to test the strength of the net. As you throw, say: '*Wawan tsuk a ien arawa to no non nots.*' ('Look out for the fish here which is coming now.') That is, you make the net think a fish is coming into it. If the net breaks, you must make a new one; if it holds, you can go on. Then put the stone into your canoe and go out to sea.

Now your net cannot be lazy in catching fish. The other canoes may come back empty, but yours will be full of fish. It will beat the other canoes every time.

When you come ashore, put the bundle of leaves away with your two nets; hang them up in the rafters of your hut, and make a little barricade round the place where they are; no one must go inside it. When the bundle of leaves rots, make a new one in the same way.

Most of the 'prescriptions' are used without any formula, such as the following:

Awouagau.

This is a mixture of root and bark scrapings and dried leaves with *oin*, kept in a package tied up with leaves. It was highly valued by its owner, who said he got it from his grandfather at Timputa, and did not know exactly what was in it. He gave me a little of the mixture as a great favour. It is for dabbing at the outer corners of the eyelids; if this

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226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *yayur*, *malaisa*, *tayini*.

226 *Gotoin* (a small tree).
824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Pako (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makɔ̄*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palayon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palayon.
824 *Katsian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).
Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
227 of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
[283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
[117 used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally
439] substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the
[286] reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with
[415 a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
824] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

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226
824

The following are typical examples of the numerous 'prescriptions' suitable for use with rod and line:

Gartan.

Chew portion of the root with betel-mixture; spit on to fish-line.

[532]

FIG. 14. Fishing. The central figure is a man fishing with rod and line; the boy on the right holds a string of fish. At the bottom on the left is a woman fishing on the reef with a basket. (Drawn by a boy.)

Fastern a small piece of the root on to the end of the line where it joins the rod, and you will catch many fish.

Fusi (a mixture).

Mix a little of this with *magor* (see p. 475), chew with betel-mixture, spit on hand and rub on fish-line.

Iuiy (a hard-wood tree).

Take some leaves, rub hard between hands, add a small quantity of *sisina* (see p. 475) and rub on line.

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226 824 *Riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Get some leaves; split them away from the mid-rib. Add a little *sisiva*, and rub it on your hand. Then chew the root with betel-mixture, spit it on to your hand which holds the other mixture, and rub both on line.

4. *Fishing kite.*

226 133 While the three former methods are practised either inside or outside the reef, kite-fishing is generally confined to the smooth water between the reef and the shore, or in otherwise sheltered water. The term 'lagoon' is current locally to indicate any such stretch of sheltered water, not necessarily so fully enclosed as in the case of the lagoons of atolls, which are rarely found in this area. It is applied, for example, to the stretch of sea between the west coast of Buka and its fringing reef, from which rises the string of islands including Petats and Pororan, though the protecting reef is open at both ends and has gaps in it. In fair weather, this stretch of water is very suitable for kite-fishing, and it was there that I saw it being carried on. The people of the north coast of Bougainville are also acquainted with the fishing kite, but they use it less frequently, as in order to do so they have to go across the peninsula to the relatively sheltered water of Soraken bay, the open sea off their own villages being unsuitable.

226 171 *Distribution.* Kite-fishing is remarkable not only for its ingenuity, but also for its geographical distribution. This is discussed in a paper by H. Balfour (1913, p. 583), who traces it from a probable centre of dispersion 'somewhere in the eastern area of the Malayan Archipelago', as one of a series of cultural objects whose distribution can be followed over an area stretching from Singapore to Santa Cruz.

227 [824] *Construction.* The kite (*vavatoa*, P.) is made of five fronds of the sago-palm leaf, of which the two outer ones have the leaf stripped from one side of the mid-rib which thus acts as a stiff outside edge. The central leaf is turned back from its mid-rib for about a third of its length, which projects to form a tail to which is attached the string trailing the lure, towards the tip, and the string held by the fisherman, at the end of the split-off portion. This string is again fastened lower down the mid-rib, by means of a loose loop. The doubled leaf forms the central part of the body of the kite; two others, with the mid-rib stripped off, are stitched to either side of it,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 45

●226
227

GARFISH CAUGHT WITH KITE

[facing p. 349]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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and turned back so that they are somewhat shorter than the central leaf. Any gaps between these two and the central leaf or the outside leaves are filled in by stitching on separate small pieces of leaf. The whole is strengthened by three pieces of thin cane laid horizontally across the breadth of the kite, one at each end and one about a third of the way from the narrower end. The ends of the three mid-ribs are brought together in a point and securely fastened. The shape of the kite can best be seen from the illustration (Pl. 44). A typical specimen measures 34½ inches along the central mid-rib to the end of the body (the tips project 32½ inches beyond this), and 22½ inches across at the top of the body.

The kite is flown by means of native fibre-string. It trails a lure of spider's web tangle (species not yet identified), collected in the bush by twirling a forked stick in places where the tangle stretches over the underbrush, till a thick mass of it is twisted round the stick. This is taken off and pressed into a wad about 3 inches long and half an inch thick, which is tied on to the end of the tail string, and played on the surface of the water by the movements of the kite. It serves both as lure and hook, the teeth of the garfish being caught in it.

This method of fishing is used only for taking garfish (*sosoa*, P.) of which there are two kinds, one much larger and more highly esteemed than the other.

Method of use. Outrigger canoes are used, generally small ones, as a man will frequently go out single-handed, though two may go together. There should be a little wind, but not too much, and the fish bite better if the sun is shining and the tide low. The bait is released first, and is towed behind the canoe for a few moments; then the fisherman releases the kite, which keeps the bait moving just on the surface of the water. The kite-string is held in the fisherman's teeth, leaving his hands free to paddle the canoe; occasionally he uses one hand to pull in or let out the string. When a fish bites, he pulls the kite in first and puts it in the boat, then he hauls in the fish, its teeth fast in the tangle. He bends it double just behind its head, and puts a finger and thumb on each side of its head at the edge of its long mouth, thus wrenching the mouth open and pulling off the tangle (Pl. 45. This photograph was taken from the other end of the canoe). The tangle is used again and again till it is torn to shreds.

Magical procedure connected with kite-fishing. When a new kite

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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● 226 is used for the first time, the following procedure must be followed in order to make it effective, for, as my informant, a skilful kite-fisher from Petats, put it, 'the kite does not catch fish by itself'.

[824] Get the root of the plant called *sil* (Petats dialect; this is the betel-pepper whose leaves are used for chewing with areca-nut and lime), chew it with areca-nut, and spit it on to the part of the fish-line that has the lure fastened to it, and goes into the water. Then say:

Seō, niknikō, botot me vavatoa.

Seō and *niknikō* are the two kinds of garfish, *botot* means 'take hold of the line and shake it', *vavatoa* is the kite. That is to say, the words are an invitation to the two kinds of garfish to come and be caught.

Having done this, you can go out to fish. The first time you go out, you must catch ten fish, and then go ashore. You must not give any of the fish to anybody. If some one asks you for one and says he is hungry, you tell him: 'I can't give you any because I want to cook my new kite. If you want to eat you can come to my house.'

[252] Then you make a very large fire, get it flaming well, and cook the ten fish on it. You must not put them in a pot, or cook them in an oven, but lay them on the fire. When they are done, you must eat them, and you must keep a good look-out all the time you are eating, to see that the dogs do not eat any of the fish. If even one dog gets hold of the smallest scrap, the kite will be no good, and the sharks will get all the fish every time you try to fish with it. When you have finished eating, make the fire up again so that it flares well, and burn all the bones.

221 824 If, when you go fishing, you find that a shark is getting the fish, you will know that a dog ate a bit of those ten fish while you were not looking. Then you get the root of *aisam* (*Lygodium dichotomum*) to undo the harm. When you come ashore after you have seen a shark eat your fish, if your wife wants to cook some of the fish, you must say to her: 'Don't cook them yet, just make the fire first.' Then you go into the bush and get a piece of *aisam* root and put it in the fire. Take your fish-line (*karikon*) and hang it up in the rafters of the hut just over the fire, so that the smoke from the fire goes up on to it. Then cook the fish in the fire that you threw the *aisam* into, and as the smoke goes up and smokes the fish-line it will make

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it good again, so that the sharks will not eat the fish that you are trying to catch with it.

Besides the procedure for the first use of a new kite, there is also a 'prescription' for ensuring a good catch on an ordinary occasion, which runs as follows:

Karawinoa (a shrub, probably belonging to the *Rubiaceae*).

Take some of the leaves, rub them in your hands, and put them into a coco-nut shell with a little sea-water. Lay the coco-nut shell on the outrigger of the canoe. Chew the root of the same plant with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on the string of the kite. When you catch your first fish for the day, pour a little of the mixture out of the coco-nut shell into its mouth and put it back into the sea. It will throw up the mixture; this will make the other garfish angry and plenty will come and take the lure.

B. *Reef fishing.*

The remaining fishing methods are of less importance, being regarded more in the nature of pastimes than as serious pursuits, though they make an appreciable difference to the food supply. They are carried out in shallow water near the shore, or on the reef at low tide. There is but little magical procedure associated with them, as they are not considered of sufficient importance.

5. *Bow and arrow.*

Small fish are shot with bow and arrow, the arrows made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf, as used for shooting birds. Pieces of the leaf are left attached to the shaft to feather the arrows. The fish thus obtained are generally used for baiting a line, such shooting being the preliminary to a morning's fishing. The arrow is not retrieved by being attached to a string, but the fisherman follows it on foot. The names of seven varieties of small fish were given to me as being shot thus for purposes of bait. They are also eaten, but chiefly when other 'relish' for the taro is not forthcoming.

6. *Spear.*

Small fish are also, and more frequently, obtained by the use of a spear (*alak*, P., *keruy*, K.). Those in use at the present time have prongs of heavy wire flattened at the ends, usually six in number.

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226 411 In the olden days they were made of the wood of a species of areca-palm (not the edible one) which is very hard. Four spikes were set outside and a fifth in the centre. They say these spears made so much splash that they frightened the fish and so were much less effective than the present ones. The spear is plunged into the middle of a shoal of small fish (*silohon*, P.) resembling sardines, which come close in shore so that they can easily be reached by a man standing on a log or wading in shallow water. The spear is sometimes thrown and then picked up, or it may be tied to the end of a fishing line and pulled back after each throw. It is also used from a canoe (outrigger). I have seen boys use the spear to pole the canoe, much as we pole a punt; at the appropriate moment the spear is thrown, the boy picks up a paddle from the bottom of the canoe, and paddles the canoe, standing, until he can retrieve the spear.

226 373 This method of fishing is frequently carried on at night, with the aid of torches made of bundles of coco-nut-palm leaf fronds tied back on to the stem. The natives do not regard the light as a lure, but say it helps them to see the fish which are then speared. A number of canoes will go out together and fish in line, looking very picturesque with the sparks flying. If a spark ignites a man's loin-cloth or burns his skin he promptly jumps overboard. They would not let me accompany them on these expeditions for fear of my clothing catching alight.

7. *Line and hook.*

226 227 A simple line may be used without a rod, being thrown by hand. It is usually provided nowadays with a small trade hook, baited with a small fish caught by one of the two methods just described. If no hook is to hand, the fish is tied on to the end of the line. Sometimes a bit of wood is used as a float (*ta'oig*). By this means are caught the larger fish which prey upon the *silohon* (*kabeluk* in the Petats dialect, I think the trevally fish). A rod may also be used for these, wielded by a man standing on a rock or a log close inshore, and making a cast whenever the jumping of the shoal of *silohon* indicates that they are being pursued.

226 373 Line-fishing is also carried on by torchlight; I have the names of several kinds of fish usually caught in this manner. Here again, the natives say that they use the torches not to attract the fish, but to enable them to see where the fish are.

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8. *Hand plunging-trap.*

The hand plunging-trap is used for catching small fish which come in shoals, chiefly the kind called *silohon* in the Petats dialect, resembling sardines. It can be used only in very shallow water.

Construction. The trap (*ĕvu*, P.) is made of a large number of mid-ribs of coco-nut palm leaf fronds (*so'op*, P.) bound together with fibre-string at regular intervals throughout their length, the rows of ties being about 3 inches apart. When not in use, it lies flat. In a specimen which I brought home the length from top to bottom is 53½ inches and its width, doubled, is about 3 feet at the bottom. It is prepared for use by the insertion of a circle of cane mounted on a handle, all bound round with the tough creeper used for canoe-making (*aisam*). The cane frame (*hapirik*, P.) is thrown into the wide end of the *ĕvu* with some force, so that the handle falls through the narrow end, where the mid-ribs are fixed close together. The mid-ribs are then gathered round the handle and securely fastened, with a slight twist such as one gives when rolling an umbrella. Thus prepared, the whole trap opens out when held vertically by the handle. When expanded ready to be dropped into the water, the *ĕvu* looks like an old-fashioned full skirt.

Method of use. A description of one man's method of handling it will indicate the way in which it is used. He started work early in the morning, about an hour after sunrise, because he saw the little fish making a commotion in the water close inshore. He stood in water up to his knees, about 6 feet from the beach. At first he held the trap horizontally, with the pointed end to the right, his right hand on the stick at its top, and his left on the upper edge of the bottom of the trap, which hung limp. Presently he turned it vertically, so that it opened out. He kept it suspended just over the surface of the water, remaining quite still for several minutes. Then he heard fish splashing a short distance off, so he went over to the place where they were and waited again. Presently he pushed the trap down into the water, and quickly bunched the ends together with his feet. Then, bending down, he caught up the ends in a bundle with both hands and pulled the whole thing out of the water thus. He carried it to the beach and opened it out on the sand. It held twenty-seven *silohon*; he said that was a poor catch.

I have also seen men sitting on the low branches of trees which overhung the water, waiting with the *ĕvu* ready poised, then, when the fish splash below them they drop the *ĕvu* on to the fish and jump

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off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *ēvu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *ēvu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-stems of a thorny vine of the Calamus species, fastened, roughly in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43). The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was procured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect (which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of which it is constructed is called *kakūl*. The trap is baited with ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth showing. It is used exclusively by men. The fish usually caught by it are a red fish (*taulō*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs to the olden days' and is not much used now.

Distribution. It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite (*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from the plant called *t/ū*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

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by the fisherman, who dives down and pushes it into holes in the rocks. He then goes back to his canoe. In a short time there is an 'explosion' which stuns the fish; the small ones come to the surface, the large ones are dived for. I am not clear as to the exact nature of this 'explosion'. My informants said it was 'just like dynamite', with which some of them are familiar as it is used for killing fish by the planters, though there are government restrictions on its use by natives owing to the liability to accidents. I have not seen this plant used, but it seems clear from the description given that the fish are actually stunned or killed by the explosion, and not poisoned. Williams (1930, p. 58) reports among the Orokaiva the use of the vine *Anisi*, a species of derris, which goes by the name of 'New Guinea dynamite'. Unfortunately, the specimen of *tʃū* which I brought home was not adequate for identification, so I cannot say whether it is the same plant. Williams describes its action as poisoning. 'The root of the Anisi is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water, and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.'

The actual poisoning of fish is also known to these people. They use the fruit of *wapatsun* (a large tree which grows on the shore) by pulping it on a stone and throwing it into the water. This does not explode, but poisons the fish, which then rise to the surface and are picked up.

The poisoning of fish is a very widespread practice among primitive peoples. Ivens describes a method of poisoning employed in the SE. Solomons involving a preparation of the bark of the Barringtonia tree 'heated in the fire to bring out its bitter qualities' (1927, p. 389). The kernel of the fruit of a species of Barringtonia is used for poisoning pools by the Samoans (Hiroa, 1930, p. 443), and the outer portion of the fruit of the same tree by the Fijians 'for stupefying fish for the purpose of catching them' (Maiden, 1889, p. 160, quoted from Seemann, *Flora Vitensis*). The plant called *wapatsun*, mentioned above, is not the ordinary Barringtonia, the kernels of which are eaten. This is called *karu* and is used for various medicinal purposes, but not, so far as I know, for catching fish. It may, however, be another species of Barringtonia.

11. *Drives.*

Under appropriate conditions, in places where there is a muddy shore, such as that in a bay near Novar, on the western end of Buka

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225 Passage, porpoises (*bīs*) are caught by means of a drive using several canoes. These range themselves in a line, and all the men splash and shout, so that the porpoises are driven up into the shallows, where they stick fast in the mud by their heads and fins. The men then come and take them out. It is said to be not uncommon for canoes to be smashed and people hurt in the excitement of such a drive. This method was not practicable in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, and I have not seen it.

METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. *Barricade of leaves.*

226 A long thick chain (*pihu*, P.) is made by binding together a quantity of leaves, ferns, and small branches of foliage, secured by ropes of creeper, much as we bind up evergreens to make festoons for Christmas decoration. At low tide, when there is a little water just covering the reef, a crowd of women and girls will take two of these chains down to the shore, and two or more of the assembled company will seize one end of each. While the other ends of both are held by others remaining at the edge of the water, these will start a few yards distant from each other, will run out into the water, trailing the chain behind them and curving towards one another, with much shouting and splashing, till the two parties meet a short distance from the shore, having laid the chains out in the form of a semicircle with the shore for its diameter. The rest of the party [265] line up along the outer side of this barrier, and put little stiff open-meshed baskets (*aunat*, P.) under the edges of the leaves and branches of the chain, holding them with the left hand, thumbs inside, with the mouths of the baskets turned inwards, and their lower edges touching the reef. When they see any fish, they flip the water with the finger and thumb of the right hand, in order to drive them towards the basket. The right hand is then placed over the mouth of the basket, which is picked up quickly, and any fish it may contain are tipped into another basket hanging behind from a cord round the woman's waist. Then the chains of leaves and branches are picked up and run out again at another spot, and so on. *Silolius* and a host of other tiny fish are caught in this way, at which the women and girls are very adept. It is not as easy as it looks. This method was frequently practised at Petats (Pl. 47), but I did not see it anywhere on the Bougainville coast, which has

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PLATE 46

226
501

FISHING WITH NET; BRINGING IN THE CATCH. PETATS

[facing p. 356]

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PLATE 47

226

FISHING WITH *PILU*: PETATS

[facing p. 357]

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no suitable shore. The 'flipping' method is used to catch fish in rock pools (see Fig. 14, figure at left bottom corner). 226

13. *Small net.*

There is a small hand-net (*batnats*, K.) peculiar to the women, used to catch fish in rock pools left in the reef at low tide. In shape it resembles the *ēb*, but is much smaller, and of finer string. To ensure success with this, the following 'medicine' is used: 226 227 286 824

Paperaw (a large tree).

Small pieces of the roots of this tree are chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the net. Men are not allowed to use this medicine.

14. *Basket.*

A certain form of basket (*bona*, K.) is in great demand among the women of Kurtatchi for fishing the rock pools. Two are required, one is held in the hand and its mouth pressed against likely crevices and openings, the other is carried on a cord round the waist to receive the result of each attempt. These baskets are different from the *aasat* used at Petats with the festoon of leaves, being much more closely woven, of softer material, apparently some kind of grass, and are very pliant. The shape is rectangular, and the two edges lie close together when the basket is not held open. 226 227 285

There is a 'prescription' for use with this method also:

Marumat (a large tree).

Chew the root of this tree with betel-mixture, spit on to a small twig of the same tree. Put the twig into your basket and rattle it, the fish will then come into the basket. [824]

15. *Groping under stones.*

The women do not need either net or basket in order to go fishing. They will never pass a likely looking hole or crevice on a reef without feeling around it to see if there are any fish lurking there, and are very skilful in pulling them out with their bare fingers. They also pile up stones into heaps on the reef in order to provide suitable hiding-places for the fish. These heaps are called *sa'ō*. A net is sometimes placed by them. This practice is prevalent in all the coast villages throughout the area. 226

16. *Gathering shell-fish.*

An account of fishing methods would not be complete without mention of the occupation over which the women spend more time

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226 than any other, except for their work in the taro garden. This is the search for shell-fish on the reef and in the sand. Several hours of most days are spent in this way, which is a sure, if somewhat slow and laborious, method of providing a relish for the evening taro. A great variety of shells is collected; perhaps the most numerous are of the cowrie species, particularly a white variety with a blue patch on the back.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

The 'Portuguese Man-o-War' (*Velella*) is esteemed a delicacy. Fig. 15 is a young man's drawing of a man and his wife collecting these creatures. The magic to bring them within reach is in the hands of the women. They go secretly to the shore, and call out the names of places from which the *tsuwaluŋ* are to come, starting from Nissan. Then they rub lime over the leaves of the creeper [824] *kurits tsuwaluŋ*, and holding these leaves in their hands, they say: 'All the women are waiting with their baskets and *kōbū*. To-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluŋ*.'

C. *Freshwater Fishing.*

Freshwater fish are taken in the larger rivers. There were no rivers accessible to the villages in which I resided, so I can only record this from what my informants told me. Two methods were described, both of which might be used by either men or women, or by both sexes in conjunction.

17. *Hand-net.*

226 A net similar to that used in sea-fishing, and also called *ēb*, is
227 used from an outrigger canoe, or from the bank. To fish with the *ēb* in fresh water is *wagan i ruin*. Either rivers or the large pools sometimes found in the bush will serve for this method of fishing.

18. *Dam.*

226 A selected area is fenced off by means of a dam made of the large heavy leaves of the bush banana or of plaited coco-nut palm leaves. This is called *pipiŋ a ruin si rakrak*, 'to barricade a river so that it is dry'. The fish left stranded on the portion from which the water is kept back are either speared or picked up.

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FIG. 15. Man and woman collecting *Tsuwalug*

[facing p. 358]

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people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3*s.* of our money for a plain hood and 5*s.* or 6*s.* for an ornamented one.

Sleeping Mats

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night.

Baskets

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process.

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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The new put in posts for

them, to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.)

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

[Use poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

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yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

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or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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following incident, which was told by a man who claimed to be related to the *urar* Mategin:

There is a place in the river where the water swirls round, just as if it were boiling, but it is not hot. There are a lot of fish in it. They are *urar* fish. There is one fish which is black, with red and white marks round its mouth, and hair like a man's, the fish is an *urar*. When he is an *urar* his name is Mategin, he walks about at night, then he looks just like a big tree. He goes to Soraken, to Torrikorri, and to Saposa (all these places are on the other side of the bay). The water belongs to him. A man named Takoman, who used to work for white men in the time of the Germans (i.e. before the war, when this island was a German dependency, and its white population was largely German), lit some dynamite[1] and threw it into the middle of the water among the fish. The dynamite flared up. The fish did not die, not one single fish was killed. Takoman went to look for the fish. All the *urar* were angry with him: 'Why do you try to kill us with dynamite?' Then he became *iburar* all the time. He did bad things, he thought about nothing but women. (Here follow details which indicate that the man was a sexual maniac.) His relatives could have cured him if they had taken some of the water from the pool belonging to the *urar* and poured it over his head and made a feast. But they were so angry with him because he shot dynamite in a river which is taboo, that they would not make the medicine, so he remained *iburar*, and got worse and worse till he died.

I give below another illustration of the transformation of *urar* as typical of this kind of story, of which there are a number in my collection. They are all told as actual happenings, distinct from those that are recognized to be merely tales.

There was a man who went fishing at dead of night in the open sea. Just before dawn he saw an *urar* come up, he walked above the water (his feet about a foot from the surface, distance shown by a gesture). He pursued the man in the canoe, the man paddled away. The *urar* turned into a shark, he came after the canoe. The canoe stopped. The shark climbed up on to the outrigger. The man cursed it. The shark turned into an *urar* again, and moved about above the water. Then he turned into a *kitas5* (a large round fish, possibly a groper). He reared up, he wanted to throw himself down on the top of the canoe so as to upset it. The man paddled hard, he got away and went farther out to sea. The *kitas5* turned again into a shark. Then dawn broke, the shark became an *urar* again and disappeared. The man went ashore at his own village. He told all the people. They all said: 'Oh rubbish, you are fooling, where

[1] Dynamite is used by planters to stun fish; the natives are forbidden to use it except under supervision, but they get hold of it when they can.

as well as in museums as stemming from New Mecklenburg (New Ireland). I find this statement first in the work by Schmeltz and Krause on the Godeffroy Museum (which first appeared in 1881), and although Schmeltz subsequently corrected this statement, it has nevertheless--like many another mistake--been widely circulated. The oars depicted by Schmeltz and Krause are quite characteristic for the extreme northwest of the Solomon Islands; nowhere else does one find the ornamentation represented on the oar blades, which one with justification can designate as the coat of arms of Buka and the neighboring tribes. The figure bears the name kokora.

The rowing is done at various tempos, but the oars are always placed in the water simultaneously, whether the tempo is slow or rapid. The faster the tempo, the deeper the blade of the oar is dipped and the farther the trunk of the body is bent forward; then the light boat shoots across the waves with great velocity and in an hour quite often covers ten nautical miles. A few years ago on the east coast of Buka I saw a boat that was manned by 36 rowers maintain this velocity for almost two hours; the chieftain who was standing up in the boat spurred his men on with loud cries. On the high seas, the slender vessel literally flew from one wave to the next; occasionally, when it was crossing a high wave, over one-third of the long body was hovering above the water. With a watch in my hand I [34] observed the rapidity of the oar strokes for a time and found that it was never less than 35 strokes per minute, but from time to time increased up to 60 per minute. At a normal and medium tempo the rowing is accompanied as a rule by a peculiar howling singing; at a rapid and the most rapid tempo, however, all is silent, and at most one hears from time to time the encouraging cry of the chieftain. Even the women know how to handle the oars well; they take care of the market traffic, and therefore one rather frequently sees large boats occupied only by women (with at most an old man at the rudder), who are going from the islands to the opposite mainland in order to trade fish etc. for taro and other foodstuffs.

Fishing

Fishing is a main occupation on the islands as well as on the coasts. In his book Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the fishing methods current in the Shortland Islands. They are also in use further north. As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great

As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great length everywhere. Their breadth or depth varies from 75 centimeters to 2 meters, and the length from 50 to 300 meters. The very large nets are always the common property of a village or the inhabitants of a small island. In addition, one finds also the hand nets described by Guppy, which are fastened to a frame that is open at the bottom. These also have the most varied sizes. There are small ones, about 1 1/2 meters long, and others that are 8 to 10 meters long. As a rule these nets are used in such a way that a whole group of men surround a school of fish and then, with nets set adjacent to one another, gradually decrease the size of the circle so that the fish cannot escape. Fishing by means of square nets, which are fastened to the four corners of a cross of bamboo cane, does not extend on the east side of Bougainville any farther north than the Martin Islands. In sheltered waters one frequently sees high frames of thin tree trunks or bamboo canes, between which spread nets hang. The fisherman sits on the frame and drops the net, in which normally some bait is placed, into the sea; when he sees that fish are swimming above it, he cautiously raises it and thus catches the prey.

Fishing by means of a kite is carried on all the way to Buka. The kite is made from a type of broad palm leaves; the light cord to which it is attached is fastened to the boat; another string, from which a fish hook hangs, extends from the kite to the surface of the sea. The boat is propelled against the wind by its occupants; if a fish bites, the kite sinks, and the catch is pulled in. On the high seas one frequently sees bonitos being caught with hooks. Here it is necessary that the boat be propelled rapidly. Therefore bonito fishing takes place in the large fast boats that are manned by many rowers. Then a long fishing rod of bamboo is set out on the right and on the left, and to each is attached an approximately 30 meter line, and to this the hook. Iron fishhooks have replaced in part the original hook, but the latter still preferred for bonito catching. This hook has great similarity to the fishhook of the Polynesians; the rather long arm, to which the line is fastened, is a piece of tridachna shell of, at most, 9 centimeters in length and 1/2 centimeter in width with an oblong oval cross section. At the upper end a notch is cut so that the line may be fastened better; at the lower end there are two or three notches on each side, which serve to secure the approximately 4 centimeter long curved, very sharp hook of tortoise shell.

On the reefs fish are caught with a spear, and also with arrows.

On north Bougainville I repeatedly observed a multi-pronged arrow; 226 ●
the points attached to the arrowshaft, which were arranged after the 227
fashion of the well-known fishing spears, consisted of 4 to 6 very sharp and pointed bamboo splinters. The owners of these arrows were inhabitants of the interior; I assume that the arrow is used principally in the rivers and water courses in the interior since I never observed it among the coastal inhabitants.

North Bougainville and Buka have one fishing method that is not [171]
found in the south: namely, fishing by means of artificial weir baskets. These weir baskets (in Buka: fwou) are made from the leaf ribs of the coconut palm; they are 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and conical in shape; the lower circular opening measures up to [35] one meter in diameter. The leaf ribs lie close together and are firmly attached at intervals of 5 to 10 centimeters; only the upper ends have no connection for a length of 15 to 25 centimeters. When using it, one inserts into the upper end a little ring of tough wood (in Buka: fapirik). This ring is fastened to a straight stick about 25 to 30 centimeters long by means of four thinner rods which run from its edge to the middle. The ring is used to make the weir basket taut; the projecting ends at the top of the basket are attached to the central rod by means of a string, and this keeps the entire implement taut. This weir basket is often used in shallow water; the fisherman holds the upper and pointed end in his hand and drops the open lower end over the fish to be caught.

In the narrow drains of the mangrove swamps the fish are caught by means of fish dams; these are made in the following way: between and on sticks which, at a distance of about 1 meter from each other, are stuck in the ground diagonally across the course of the water, a wicker work of coconut leaves is fastened, so that when the water level falls the fish are blocked off from the sea.

It goes without saying that all the fish caught in the sea are also 262
used as food. Sea cucumbers, cuttlefish, snails and mollusks of every description find their way into the cooking pot. The native [825]
can exactly distinguish the poisonous fish--and their number is not slight--from the unharmful ones. Sharks and dolphins are considered delicacies, but there is no special catching apparatus for them; spear and arrow are the main weapons used. As a rule they sneak up on 225
tortoises on the small islands and sandbanks when the animals visit them to lay their eggs; many a tortoise who is resting on the surface of the sea is also killed by spear.